DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 068 434 SO 005 150

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TITLE Beyond Progress and Development.
PUB DATE [72]
NOTE 13p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Developed Nations; Developing Nations; Ecological Factors; Humanism; *Social Problems; Values; World Affairs; *World Problems
IDENTIFIERS *Futuristics

ABSTRACT

The paper discusses a need for perceiving and discussing the future of the world not in the traditional way of projecting future trends from present events but, rather, from the point of view of creating a new future by discussing how things "ought to be." It is suggested that new behavioral goals of tomorrow which are not anthropocentrically based be established. The author refutes Horowitz's arguments of bringing Third World nations up to the same production and consumption levels as the nations of the First and Second Worlds and the position of others who offer that technology and education constitute a solution, since the crucial problem is survival. To meet this problem it is suggested that a design for cultural survival such as conceived by Skinner be created requiring design, investment, and a self discipline implying "the development of a technology of behavior which prescribes social contingencies that will create behaviors in line with the main cultural values." Neither an individual nor a nation has unlimited rights when survival of the world is at stake. Five large scale objectives, listed by The UNESCO Courier are given which should be implemented because of the pressing need for ecological sanity and survival. (Several pages may be light.) (SJM)

ED 068434

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BEYOND PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

Larry Denys

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Development is about the future. There are basically two options in the way one thinks about the future of the world. One can view things as they are out there and project future trends from present events, draw up exponential curves and so forth. In this line of analysis it is not difficult to demonstrate that the world's population will reach the seven billion mark within thirty years; that the absolute number of illiterates is growing (even though illiteracy rates are slightly declining); that the productive and consumer gaps between industrialized, "developed", countries and industrially backward, "developing", countries are growing; that industrial countries, capitalistic and socialistic alike, will continue to be the main exploiters of the earth's resources and polluters of the environment. The natural solutions to these development problems[1] are already operative and are evident to anyone who cares to look. They include obesity and kwashiorkor, boredom and revolution, food crop surpluses and famine, Ph.D. unemployment and illiteracy, waste disposal problems and garbage eating. Also increasingly evident is the final solution in the form of a creeping poisoning of the ecosphere and extinction of species.

There is of course another way of perceiving and discussing the future of the world. One can maintain that the problem is not the solution and discuss how things "ought to be". This second approach is the only one which is humanist and capable of averting catastrophe. Any serious attempt in this direction, however, cannot be based on the projections of self-interested parties or predictions of the future but must be linked to the very creation of a new future. Professor Knelman[2] of Sir George Williams University has explained why we must not rely

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[1] In the (instant) Neil Postman tradition, the problem is the solution. See Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching as a Subversive Activity, New York, Delacorte Press, 1969.

[2] F.H. Knelman, "A plea for a program of ecological sanity", The Toronto Star, November 17, 1971.

on the natural momentum of our system for our vision of a viable future.

> The system composed of four basic elements - politics, economics, science and culture - is essentially blind, a kind of driverless juggernaut primed for self-perpetuation and perpetual growth. The economic and political imperatives are uncontrolled growth, the unlimited acquisition of power. Science and technology are dedicated to serve this growth as are the dominant aspects of culture - life-styles, values, myth, religion and information.

This cycle needs to be broken and new behavioral objectives established. Revolutionary literature whether political or cultural in emphasis continues to be traditional, almost classical, in its approach to a solution. Marxist revolutionaries continue to see the capitalist system as the root of all evil. Cultural revolutionaries believe it possible to conscientize the masses and thereby establish a form of counter-control. In a recent issue of Interchange[3] some of the authors advise revolutionary change or are in sympathy with it (Reimer, Livingstone, Blege, etc.) while the temperamental empathy of others (Foster, St. John, etc.) is with graduated incremental change. Reimer sums up the sympathies of the first group, "I believe in revolutionary change that will fundamentally alter the power relations among nations, classes and individuals" (p.92). What is common to all these authors is that none[4] comes to grips with the substance of the educational goals and therefore in a larger sense the human behavioral goals of tomorrow. The furor is about existing institutions, especially the existing school systems, which are seen by the first group as a hindrance to human progress; by the second group as a vehicle of human progress.

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[3] Interchange, O.I.S.E., Vol. 2, No. 1, 1971.

[4] Livingstone does point out that these goals need to be specified (without specifying them) when criticizing Reimer's essay. (p.41)

Illich[5] in a brilliant article on alternative consumption goals for developing countries has perhaps come closest to specifying possible alternative behavioral objectives. Current apologetic literature continues to be utopian and contains considerable Rousseau-esque romanticising - man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains.

What is common to the apologists of revolutionary change and the conservatives is their inexorable anthropocentrism. The former are concerned with readjusting power relations in the human family. But this process should be part of a larger revolution of environmental relationships. The monumental imperialism of the human family as a species towards the environment has already reached the state of ecocide. The ongoing industrial and medical revolutions of the last three hundred years have given the human species powers which it does not know how to use. A technology of behaviour has not developed parallel to the other technologies. We have forgotten the humility and respect for nature found in pre-industrial societies and in every species of animal.[6] Our industrial culture is permeated with the notion that man is outside of nature and can 'develop' nature without fear of retribution. The psychologist, B.F. Skinner,[7] writes, "Animal is a pejorative term but only because man has been made spuriously honorific." The whole tradition of Disney creations, putatively

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[5]Ivan Illich, "Outwitting the developed countries," The New York Review, November 6, 1969.

[6]The pygmies in the Congo basin call the forest father and mother; realizing that their entire existence depends on their forest environment.

The new science of Ethology which had its greatest impetus in Europe (Konrad Lorenz to Paul Leyhausen) illustrates how (civilized) animal societies are, as shown in their territorial behaviour, reserve in killing apart from food gathering, bonded pair behaviour, etc. The "law of the jungle" is a literary creation which describes certain human behaviour but has no relation to animal behaviour.

[7]B.F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1971, p. 201.

innocent entertainment for children of all ages, is perhaps the most blatant example of subtle cultural indoctrination of anthropocentrism.

How is all this to be related to the notion of development? Horowitz[8] has described three worlds of development and a fourth world of UNDEVELOPMENT consisting of tribal societies which are unconscious of alternatives to their own ways of life. The First World is basically that cluster of nations which were transformed from feudalism into some form of capitalism and grew out of the soil of Western Europe. The Second World is historically the Russian orbit, the Soviet Union and its bloc. The Third World consists of the remaining nations, mostly ex-colonial and non-aligned and now dedicated to industrialization. Horowitz has a clear notion of what constitutes a developed society, "in other words, these two worlds, represented by the United States and the Soviet Union in particular, will be used in this work as models of developed nations" (p.59, op.cit.). Although Horowitz shows his awareness that a society may be 'overdeveloped' (largely by quoting C. Wright Mills[9]), he continues to argue that Third World nations need to develop towards these models.

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[8]I.L. Horowtiz, Three Worlds of Development, New York, Oxford University Press, 1966.

Horowitz attributes the first use of the expression, Third World to Frantz Fanon, Les Damnés de la terre, 1961.

[9]When we think about the "underdeveloped society" we must also think about the "overdeveloped society". There are two reasons for this: first, if we do not do so, we tend to think of everything as moving towards the DEVELOPED. It is the old notion of nineteenth century evolutionism. And this is no longer a very fruitful idea. Second, to think of the polar types leads us to think about a third type - an ideal which we should always keep in mind: the properly developing society.

C. Wright Mills, "The Problem of Industrial Development", in Power, Politics and People: The Collected Papers of C. Wright Mills, edited by Irving L. Horowitz. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

This is a physical impossibility in terms of environmental resources and the pollution potential of even today's three billion people. The Unesco Courier[10] refers to estimates that a child born in the United States today will consume during his lifetime at least twenty times as much as one born in India and contribute about fifty times as much pollution to the environment. This means that the lifetime consumption of today's two hundred million Americans is equivalent to that of four billion Indians and the American pollution potential is equivalent to that of ten billion Indians, or three times the present world population if the entire population lived at Indian standards. Conversely, India's present population of about five hundred million has a lifetime consumption equivalent to that of about twenty five million Americans and a pollution potential equivalent to that of about ten million Americans. It might be noted here that although the individual countries are the main polluters, atmospheric and ocean currents ensure that everyone shares in today's super-pollution.[11] Jacques Cousteau in a recent news release stimated that at present rates of pollution the oceans of the world will be biologically dead before the end of this century.[12] He put the blame directly on the major industrial nations of the world. The

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[10]"A message to our 3.5 billion neighbours on planet earth from 2,200 environmental scientists," The Unesco Courier, July, 1971.

[11]DDT levels in the bodies of Indians is at present almost twice the quantities found in the bodies of Americans. Figures from: G.R. Taylor, The Doomsday Book, London, Thames and Hudson, 1970.
As statistical information occurs frequently in this section, it becomes cumbersome to credit individually. Figures may be assumed to be taken from Taylor unless otherwise specified.

[12]If the reader is thoroughly depressed by now, let him take heart from a New Year's day announcement in The Toronto Star that ducks and carp have returned to the Thames estuary (England) after several years of strict pollution control.

world's population, at present rates of expansion, will reach seven billion by the turn of the century and thirty billion in a hundred years from now. Calcutta grows by three hundred thousand people every year and should reach the sixty million mark within our lifetime. It is unlikely of course that these figures will ever be reached. War and malnourishment will perform their natural tasks. Already, two thirds of the worlds population are malnourished by Western standards. Evidence from Ethology shows that territories which are overpopulated by a species of animal result in population "crashes" which level off at about one third of the peak population. Autopsies on dead members indicate they have died from stress.

Figures become astronomical and unreal when one attempts to apply the estimated variance ratios of consumption and pollution to future world populations.* The evidence is sufficiently graphic by studying today's three and a half billion humans. The FAO recommends 2400 calories per day as a basic diet. The average Indian diet is 1600 calories per day and furthermore low in animal proteins. This results in a chronic state of "protein shock". To produce more animal protein requires fertile land, arable or in pasture. Agricultural experts estimate that the world's irrigated lands lose one inch of top soil every three years through erosion. The Sahara desert grows at the rate of thirty miles a year in some sections due to wind erosion which is in turn caused by overgrazing of marginal grasslands.[13] It is estimated that Africa is losing three hundred million tons of soil per year due to wind and water erosion and may be unable to feed its population in fifteen years.

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[13]The "dustbowls" created by Canadian and American farmers in the far West in the early part of this century by cultivating marginal rainfall areas and more recently Kruschev's blunder in opening the Caucasus marginal lands are also instructive.

* The most sophisticated studies using computerized systems analysis on the future limits to industrial expansion and population growth have been undertaken by a group of concerned scientists called "The Club of Rome" working out of MIT. A readable lay version of their work is available in paperback -- D. H. Meadows and others, The Limits to Growth, 1972, Universe Books, New York.

So much for attempting to bring Third World nations to the same production and consumption levels as the nations of the First and Second worlds. Those who suggest that technology and education constitute an answer should study the behaviour of the nations which possess both in abundance. Overwhelming evidence shows that environmental deterioration and depletion of natural resources forever presents the Third World from following a lifestyle approaching the one now common in the first two worlds. Some environmentalists claim we have already committed ecocide. Many ecosystems have been damaged to the point of being irreversible. There is therefore, little chance that even the present rate of environmental exploitation can be continued.

In terms of the earth's resources viewed over the next generation, every nation is already overdeveloped. The most pressing problem is survival. The question in its most brutal but honest form is not whether the human species will survive but what sections of it will survive. Paul Ehrlich[14] has taken this position to its logical conclusion by suggesting that the U.S.A. borrow the "triage" system from military medicine for classifying nations and deciding which nations deserve international aid and therefore survival.

What is needed is nothing short of what B.F. Skinner[15] in his latest book calls, the design of a new culture. This implies the development of a technology of behaviour which prescribes social contingencies that will create behaviours in line with the main cultural value; that is, cultural survival. This technology of behaviour is at

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[14]When medical staff is insufficient for incoming casualties in a dressing station, a decision must be made on who will be treated. All incoming casualties are placed in one of three categories: those who will die regardless of treatment, those who will survive regardless of treatment, and those who can be saved only if they are given prompt treatment. Limited medical aid is concentrated on this third group. P.R. Ehrlich, The Population Bomb, Ballantine Paperbacks, New York, 1968, p. 159.

[15]B.F. Skinner, op.cit., Chapter 8.

present only in its infancy and cannot match the industrial or medical technologies. Skinner (op.cit., p. 177) is here quoted at some length to illustrate his thesis.

> What is needed is more "intentional" control, not less, and this is an important engineering problem. The good of a culture cannot function as the source of genuine reinforcers for the individual, and the reinforcers contrived by cultures to induce their members to work for their survival are often in conflict with personal reinforcers. The number of people explicitly engaged in improving the design of automobiles, for example, must greatly exceed the number of those concerned with improving life in city ghettos. It is not that the automobile is more important than a way of life, but rather that the economic contingencies which induce people to improve automobiles are very powerful. They arise from the personal reinforcers of those who manufacture automobiles. No reinforcers of comparable strength encourage the engineering of the pure survival of a culture. The technology of the automobile industry is also, of course, much further advanced than the technology of behavior. These facts simply underline the importance of the threat posed by the literatures of freedom and dignity.

When Skinner states that the death of autonomous man is overdue, he is stating that the death of anthropocentric man, the mythical "free" man of nineteenth and twentieth century romantic literature, is overdue. The problem is not freedom but freedom from what, for what, as compared to whom? "Beyond Freedom and Dignity" simply refers to the pressing need for making cultural survival the main value of a new culture and changing social contingencies so that behaviour results which is in line with this value. Ehrlich (op.cit., p. 170) suggests the same approach in less technical language, "Our entire system of orienting to nature must undergo a revolution." The connection is by now obvious between the unlimited right of the individual - and the individual nation - to pursue his own goals and the catastrophies threatened by unchecked breeding, the unrestrained affluence which exhausts resources and pollutes the environment.

A new culture requires design, investment and self discipline. The industrialized countries of the First and Second Worlds are the undisputed masters of industrial and military technology; control world trade and the extractive industries in the Third World as brilliantly illustrated by Pierre Jalée;[16] control such international agencies as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank,[17] the U.N. Security Council (security for whom?); and as has been previously demonstrated are the worlds greatest consumers and polluters in absolute terms. They are the masters of today's world. Dennis Braithwaite[18] has re-emphasized the thesis that the leaders of the First and Second Worlds have steered "small" wars - from Korea to Vietnam - to theatres in the Third World. Starting on the premise that there will be no World War III between the nuclear powers because of fear of total extinction, Braithwaite claims we see continuing war as one of the workable solutions to overpopulation in the Third World.

> We are not cruel and certainly not bloodthirsty. Our protestations of brotherly love and dedication to peace are genuine - as far as they go. But we know the physical world is a dangerous and menacing place and sense that every black or yellow man who dies violently in some part of it we'll never see is buying time for us.

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[16]Pierre Jalée, The Pillage of the Third World, New York and London, Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1968.

[17]The International Development Association (IDA) and The International Finance Corporation (IFC) both affiliated with the World Bank and set up to help "developing" countries, have boards on which majority control is held by U.S.A., U.K., France, West Germany, Japan and Formosa in the first case and U.S.A., U.K., France and West Germany in the second case. Jalée, pp. 66-7.

[18]Dennis Braithwaite, "The war we don't want to talk about", The Toronto Star, December 12, 1971. The reference is to the recent Indo-Pakistani war.

The developing countries of the Third World are by the same argument the victimized and exploited of today's world. They are underdeveloped because the First and Second World's are overdeveloped. The dialectic runs rull circle. The innocence of the Third World is of course not innate but is the innocence of the uninitiated and powerless. Biafra and Pakistan are sufficient evidence as is the unchecked and unconscious deterioration of the environment in the Third World.

The only moral solution is revolutionary redistribution of wealth, consumption and therefore health, and power. There is no evidence at present that the First and Second Worlds are voluntarily engaging in such a programme. The reverse is true. The Nkrumah[19] thesis that the resources of the Third World are continuing to support welfare states in especially the First World is easily documented. How then can we ask the revolutionaries of the Third World to become less anthropocentric when they have nothing to lose but their malnourishment? Ignacy Sachs,[20] former head of the Centre for Research on Economic Underdevelopment in Warsaw, Poland, has pointed to this problem.

> Thus, hidden behind the supposedly technical problems of environmental control lie fundamental social contradictions. Far from distracting attention from political struggles, the environmental issue may well, on the contrary, provide new arguments to radical movements of protest against the global irrationality of the capitalist system.

And yet environmental control is as important to the survival of the Third World as is more political and consumption power. Therein lies the dilemma.

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[19]Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stages of Imperialism, New York, International Publishers, 1965.

[20]Ignacy Sachs, "Industrialization without Pollution: A Challenge to the Developing World," The Unesco Courier, July, 1971.

NEW BEHAVIORAL OBJECTIVES

The Unesco Courier (op.cit., p. 15) has listed the following recommendations which should be implemented immediately.

1. A massive research programme into the problems that threaten the survival of man. This research should be on a larger scale and receive higher priority than atomic and space research. It should be financially supported by the industrial nations who are best able to do so and are the principal users of resources and major polluters. Needless to say, control of the programme should not lie exclusively with these nations.
2. A moratorium on technological innovations the effects of which we cannot foretell and which are not essential to human survival. This would include new weapons systems, luxury transport, new and untested pesticides, etc. It would also include ecologically unresearched engineering projects, the damning of great rivers, reclamation of jungle land, etc.
3. The application of existing pollution-control technology to the generation of energy and industry generally.
4. Intensified programmes in all regions of the world to curb population growth.
5. The abolition of war.

The basic problem as the history of the U.N. so well illustrates is the establishment of controls with teeth in them. In Skinner's terms we must establish contingencies of behaviour under which consequences have an effect.

> It is one of the functions of a culture to correct for these innate dispositions through the design of techniques of control, and particularly self-control, which moderate the effects of reinforcement. (op.cit., p. 176)

History shows that national and individual self-discipline is an elusive objective. The stakes of survival are so high, however, that this approach to control must be continued to be explored and applied. The

First and Second Worlds must at once level off their populations. This is necessary not only to convince the Third World of the necessity of similar measures but also because the industrialized nations are the biggest consumers and polluters in absolute terms. Japan, which is usually listed as a successful example of population control, still grows at the rate of 1.1 per cent per annum; that is, over one million people are added yearly. Knelman has suggested that the Canada Economic Council should be researching a viable spaceship (earth) economic model based on steady-state consumption through resource management, conservation and re-cycling. Ehrlich (op.cit., p. 134), typically, puts the same suggestion more graphically.

> How much should we reduce our grain-finishing of beef in order to have more food for export? How will we react when asked to balance the lives of a million Latin Americans against, say, a 30 cent per pound rise in the average price of beef?

The Third World nations can equally benefit from self-discipline in the areas of population and certain forms of technological consumption. U.N. statistics have repeatedly shown that rates of population increases continue to outstrip gains in economic output and education. Also, as Illich has graphically shown Third World peasants do not need tractors with mounted radios. The example of mainland China in water conservation works and reforestation is especially instructive. Labour-intensive methods can be used to combine long term conservation and agricultural goals with short term employment targets. The Chinese, rather than highly paid Unesco "experts", might well be advisors to the Third World.

These are large scale objectives, immediately derived from the pressing need for ecological sanity and survival. The issue of schooling becomes an issue of means to approximate these objectives. Man is no longer born free.